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Pandit Sukhlalji with Dr Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan on the occasion of the function held in June 1957 at Bombay to felicitate Panditji on behalf of All India Pandit Sukhlalji Felicitation Committee.

Pandit Sukhlalji : The Blind Seer

B. M. Singhi

In the death of Pandit Sukhlalji, which occurred in Ahmedabad on 2nd March 1978 when he required a little over two years to complete a century, India nay, the world has lost a great Sanskrit scholar who dominated the field of Indian philosophy and religion in general and Jain religion and philosophy in particular for the last sixty years. He had become a legendary figure in the world of letters on account of his deep insight into the old classics of Sanskrit and Prakrit. All the twenty-six published works, which he had to his credit as per the list appended hereto, have been acclaimed as the treasurehouse of very valuable knowledge by the critics of very high order, whether in India or abroad. He was really a great genius. In the words of Dr. T. R. V. Murti, the erstwhile Professor of Philosophy in Banares Hindu University, "Panditji's philosophical writings on various topics and the scores of learned and critical introductions and notes to philosophical classics will stand as abiding monument to his peculiar genius and scholarship." There seems to be no other scholar who can take his place. Scholarship apart, in his life and thought he was the embodiment of all that is regarded as the best of Indian thought and culture. He was truly a living example of 'simple living and high thinking'. He practised all the *Mahāvratas*, expounded by Mahavira in his life. By both profession and practice, he was a true Jain—not a Jain in the narrow and sectarian sense. To quote Dr. A. N. Upadhye, "the realm of knowledge for him recognised no religious, racial, temporal and geographical barriers, and the human thought-process, as he understood it, was a continuous and connected flow." He was "human" in the truest sense—free from all sorts of dogmatism and sectarianism. He always believed in comparative study and valuation of all patterns of thought, whether of the East or of the West, which make life sublime and in drawing conclusions from the same in the broadest perspective. A man of capacious intellect and high moral character, he was a life-long seer and seeker of truth.

He was physically blind and yet was an extraordinary seer. External eyes closed, his inner eyes opened and opened widely. He could then perceive what he had not been able to see with the external eyes. He saw through his mind and heart. I vividly remember what Shri Morarji Desai, who is at present our Prime Minister, had said on Panditji's

blindness while speaking at the function held in June 1957 at Bombay under the presidentship of late Dr Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the then Vice-President of India, to offer felicitations to Panditji. He had said that if Sukhlalji had not lost his eyes, when he was only sixteen years old, he would not have become a *Ṛṣi* which today he is ; he would have perhaps remained a businessman only. It was an act of destiny that he lost his eyes at that age. This loss proved a boon for him ; it became a turning point in his life.

Panditji was born on December 8, 1880 in a small village named Limli in Gujarat. His father was a small trader. His mother had died when he was only four years old, but the love and affection he received from his step-mother was unique. When he was only fourteen years old, the step-mother also died. At that time, Panditji was being grooved to be a good businessman. He had to give up studies while he was in class seven only and had to take over business at the shop. His marriage–engagement had also been fixed by this time and he would have married at the age of fifteen, had it not been firstly, for some difficulties in the family of the would-be bride and secondly, for a virulent attack of small-pox which Panditji had when he was sixteen years old. This attack ended in total blindness for Panditji. Naturally then there was no question of marriage and no question of running a shop. Panditji had darkness all around, but soon thereafter destiny opened for him the doors to a new light—a rare light. The Upanishad's '*tamaso mā jyotirgamayo*' became the beaconlight in Panditji's life Panditji had a long journey from darkness to light and it brought him success and elevation of the highest order. There were great difficulties and obstacles in his way, but Panditji with his unflinching determination fought them all single-handed. He travelled far and wide in the quest of higher learning in Sanskrit. His arduous journeys to Banares, Mithila and Agra greatly benefited him and ultimately he fulfilled all his desires and aspirations. The inner light he had gained and developed, guided him in all his pursuits. No fear or temptation could deviate him from his *Sādhanā* —his *Darśan* and *Cintan*.

He became not only a versatile scholar but also a true Sanyasi. Our great philosopher, Dr. Radhakrishnan, while eulogising the attainments of Panditji said about twenty years back that only persons like Pandit Sukhlalji, who had led a life of self-realisation, self-dedication, and self-renunciation, could be called a Sanyasi. Panditji was a true Sanyasi in this sense. He had been deeply influenced by the teachings of Mahavira and Mahatma Gandhi on non-attachment and non-violence.

At the call of Mahatma Gandhi, he had accepted a professorship at the Gujarat Vidyapeeth in Ahmedabad. Gandhiji was so much impressed with Panditji's dedication to studies that he called him a 'moving Vidyapeeth'. It was during his stay at this Vidyapeeth that Panditji edited '*Sanmati Tarka*' jointly with Pandit Bechardasji in six volumes. This work of Panditji was greatly appreciated by several well-known foreign scholars of Jainism including Dr. Herman Jacobi.

In 1930-31, Gandhiji had given a call to the nation for a country-wide Satyagrah Movement for independence and Panditji, not satisfied with only literary work, wanted to plunge in this movement but Gandhiji dissuaded him from doing so in view of his physical disabilities. Panditji followed his advice and utilised his time during this period in learning the English language. During this very period he also visited Shantiniketan and lived there for nearly three months in close association with Rabindra Nath Tagore. Thereafter in 1933 late Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya invited Panditji to chair the newly started Department of Jain Philosophy at the Banares Hindu University. Panditji accepted this position and worked there until retirement in 1944. During these eleven years, Panditji taught and trained a good number of scholars in studies of Jainism, who are now spread all over India. It was at the Banares Hindu University that this writer, while a student of B.A. Course there in 1934, came in touch with Panditji who inspired and influenced him so profoundly that during the last forty-four years the writer always took him as his guru in all matters, scholastic and otherwise. He was a constant inspirer and adviser to him. He always referred to him for advice even on social and national problems. Panditji was very pragmatic in his outlook. He was among the first ones to welcome the writer's active involvement in the movement for family planning. The writer owes a deep debt of gratitude to Panditji for his valuable advice and guidance in all matters.

After retirement from the Banares Hindu University in 1944, Panditji was offered the Sir Ashutosh Chair of Jain Philosophy at the Calcutta University by its erstwhile Vice-chancellor, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, but he humbly expressed his inability to do so, because he had developed a strong inclination to live in Gujarat.

Accordingly he spent the last thirty-four years of his life at Ahmedabad, where also he created around him an atmosphere of study and progressive thinking. Several young scholars in Ahmedabad and from outside found in Panditji a 'mammoth reference library' for guidance in their research work. He produced a number of able Ph.D's and

D.Litts. With his death, this one-man institution of higher studies in Jainism is unfortunately closed. The well-known Indologist late Dr. Vasudeva Sharan Agrawal had very rightly said—"Pandit Sukhlalji is not an individual, but an institution by himself. Whatever may be the name and *gotra* of his body, he has made 'Sarasvat' as his *gotra*". Panditji himself used to say that though by birth he was a Vaishya, by his pursuits he had become a Brahmana. The writer himself was fortunate in being called by Panditji as more of a Brahmana than a Vaishya.

It was but natural for the activities and attainments of Pandit Sukhlalji that he was loved and honoured by all, who met him, heard him and read him. He was invited by different Universities from time to time to deliver lectures, he was given awards now and then by various organisations ; he was awarded D. Litt (*honoris causa*) by the Gujarat University in 1957 ; he was felicitated by an All India Felicitation Committee under the presidentship of our internationally renowned philosopher and the then Vice-president Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan at Bombay in 1957 ; he was elected as President of the Jain and Prakrit section of the All India Oriental Conference at Lucknow in 1951. However, all these honours did not mean very much to Panditji. According to the writer, the most appropriate epithet used for Panditji was 'Mahaprajna' as called by late Dr. V. S. Agrawal or 'Prajna-Caksu' as called generally by all.

It is pity that Panditji did not write his autobiography which would have really been a very valuable book for the coming generations. All persuasions by his friends and disciples proved futile in making Panditji agree to complete his autobiographical notes, which he had written on a few occasions. While on this subject, he always felt and said "I have not been able to live fully according to my ideas regarding *aparigraha* and *jīvan-śuddhi* and, therefore, I feel diffident in writing the account of my life." In fact, Panditji always spoke more about his short-comings and failures than of his abilities and attainments. Writing about Helen Keller, the outstanding Blind of the world and comparing himself with her, Panditji used the same words as Helen had used for herself—"my life story is the creation of my friends." So modest and humble was Panditji.

Panditji is dead but death does not diminish his immortality in the annals of Jain Philosophy. Let us pray that his life and thought will continue to inspire and guide us for all time to come in the direction of progressive thinking and moral elevation.

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6. *Daṇḍak* by Purvacarya in Prakrit—
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7. *Pañca Pratikramaṇa* in Prakrit—
   Translated in Hindi with analytical notes etc. (1921)

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13. *Tattvārtha Sūtra* by Umasvati in Sanskrit—
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Contribution of Jaina Philosophy to Indian Thought

MOHAN LAL MEHTA

Jainism is a non-Vedic or non-Brahmanic religion. But it should not be regarded as a *nāstika* faith, because it firmly believes in the existence of spiritual realities like soul, *karma*, reincarnation, liberation etc. The Jaina philosophy, no doubt, has some similarities with the other Indian philosophical schools, it has its own peculiarities as well.

The Jaina philospher uses the terms *sat*, *tattva*, *dravya*, *artha*, *padārtha*, *tattvārtha* etc. generally as synonyms for Reality. He does not make any strict distinction among them. The other Indian philosophers do not agree with him. The Vaisesika uses the term *padārtha* for *dravya*, *guna*, *karma*, *sāmānya*, *viśeṣa* and *samavāya*, but the term *artha* is reserved only for the first three[1] which are called *sat* owing to the connection of *sattā* by the *samavāya* relation.[2] The Sankhya regards *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* as *tattva* The Naiyayika calls the sixteen principles as *sat*.[3]

The Jaina defines Reality as possessing origination, decay and permanence or as having qualities and modes.[4] Origination and decay are nothing but the changing modes or forms. Permanence is the same as the essential qualities or attributes. Thus, Reality is possessed of both change and permanence. Here arises a question : How can change and permanence, which are contradictory, live in one and the same thing? The Jaina philosopher says that permanence is not to be understood as absolute changelessness. Similarly, change is not to be taken as absolute difference. Permanence means indestructibility of the essential nature (quality) of a substance.[5] Change means origination and destruction of different modes. Reality is transitory as well as permanent, different as well as identical. No object can be absolutely destroyed, nothing can be absolutely permanent. The modes (*paryāyas*) change, whereas the essential characteristics (*guṇas*) remain the same.

[1] *Vaisesika-sutra*, 1.1 4, 8.2.3.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1.1.8.
[3] *Nyaya-bhasya*, 1.11
[4] *Tattvartha-sutra*, 5.29-30; 5.38.
[5] *Ibid.*, 5.31.

Our experience tells us that no object is absolutely identical. We experience this also that the differences are not absolutely scattered. Jainism accepts this commonsense view and maintains that the identity or permanence exists in the midst of all the varying modes or differences. There is no reason to call in question the reality of the changes or of the identity, as both are perceived facts. Every entity is subject to change and maintains its identity throughout its career. Thus, Reality is a synthesis of opposites—identity and difference, permanence and change.

The Vedantist starts with the premise that Reality is one permanent universal conscious existence. The Vaibhasika and the Sautantrika believe in atomic particulars and momentary ideas, each being absolutely different from the rest and having nothing underlying them to bind them togehter. The Naiyayika and the Vaisesika hold particularity and universality to be combined in an individual, though they maintain that the two characters are different and distinct. A Real, according to them, is an aggregate of the universal, i.e., identity and the particular, i.e, difference, and not a real synthesis. The Jaina differs from all these Indian philosophers and holds that the universal and the particular are only distinguishable traits in an object which is at once identical with and different from both. A Real, according to him, is neither a particularity nor a universality exclusively but a synthesis which is different from both severally and jointly though embracing them in its fold.[6]

There are six ultimate substances or eternal Reals in the Jaina metaphysics : 1. Soul (*jīva*), 2. Matter (*pudgala*), 3. Medium of Motion (*dharma*), 4. Medium of Rest (*adharma*), 5. Space (*ākāśa*), 6. Time (*kāla*). The souls are infinite (*ananta*) in number and each soul has innumerable (*asaṅkhyeya*) indivisible parts (*pradeśas*).[7] By contraction and expansion of these parts the soul is capable of occupying different bodies like the light of a lamp that occupies a small room as well as a big hall.[8] It can occupy the smallest possible body of a bacterium or the largest possible body of a whale. No other school of Indian philosophy regards the soul as equal in extent to the body it occupies. Jainism maintains that even the emancipated souls, which have no physical forms, since they are not possessed of bodies, have the psychical forms of their last bodies. Though the liberated souls possess their own form and maintain their individuality, there is perfect equality among them. They do not obstruct one another. Jainism does not believe in personal God. Every

[6] *Astasahasri*, pp 147-8.
[7] *Tattvartha-sutra*, 5 8.
[8] *Ibid*., 5.16.

soul, which is capable of salvation, is possessed of the innate nature of Godliness. It can attain the state of Godhead through right belief, right knowledge and right conduct. This state is nothing more than final liberation. All the liberated souls are essentially equal. None of them enjoys any privilege. Every emancipated soul perfectly shines with infinite knowledge, infinite intuition, infinite bliss and infinite power.

Matter consists of two forms : atoms (*aṇus* or *paramāṇus*) and molecules (*skandhas*). The indivisible material particle is called atom. It is the smallest possible form of matter.[9] Each and every atom possesses touch, taste, smell and colour and is potentially capable of forming earth, water, fire and air. There are no distinct and different kinds of atoms of earth etc., i.e., the atoms are ultimately not different. Airy atoms can be converted into water, watery atoms can be converted into fire and so on. Ultimately, all the atoms belong to one and the same class, viz., the class of matter. Sometimes they form earth, sometimes they form water and so on. All this depends upon certain conditions and combinations. Air can be converted into a bluish liquid by continuous cooling, just as steam can be converted into water. Thus, according to Jainism, earth, water, fire and air are not ultimately separate and independent entities but only different forms of matter. There are no ultimate qualitative differences among them. The school of Nyaya-Vaisesika does not agree to this view of Jainism. It regards earth, water, fire and air as absolutely different and independent substances, and hence, their atoms are also ultimately distinct and different.

A combination of atoms is known as molecule. It possesses a gross form and undergoes the processes of union and division. The manifestations of molecules are found in the form of different kinds of body, organs of speech, sound, heat, light, darkness, shade etc.[10] Some Indian philosophers like the Vaisesika etc. associate sound with ether. The Jaina does not accept this view. He explains the creation of sound as due to the violent contact of one material object with another. A single molecule cannot produce sound. Darkness is a positive entity. The Naiyayika and the Vaisesika maintain that the existence of darkness is nothing more than the non-existence of light. Darkness is not a positive reality but the mere negation of light. The Jaina holds that darkness enjoys an independent existence. It is as real as light.

[9] *Sarvarthasiddhi*, 5.25.

[10] *Tattvartha-sutra*, 5.19-20, 24.

No other Indian philosophical school than Jainism admits that *karma* is also material. According to the Jaina conception, *karma* is an aggregate of very fine material particles imperceptible to our senses. The entire cosmos is full of that kind of matter which can take the form of *karma*. Through the actions of body and mind the karmic matter gets into the soul and is tied to it according to the modifications of consciousness consisting of passions. In the state of bondage the soul and *karma* are more intimate than milk and water.

The medium of Motion is helpful in the movement of the souls and matter. Though the souls and matter are possessed of the capacity of movement, they cannot move unless the medium of motion is present in the universe. As water helps fish in swimming, the medium of motion assists the souls and matter in their movement This substance is formless[11] and exists everywhere in the universe. The auxiliary cause of rest to the souls and matter is known as the medium of Rest. It is also formless and pervades the whole of the universe. The conception of the media of motion and rest as two separate substances is a unique contribution of Jainism to the Indian philosophy.

That which provides accommodation to the souls, matter, the media of motion and rest and time is called Space. It is also formless and all-pervasive. It consists of two divisions : universe-space ((*lokākāśa*) snd non-universe-space (*alokākāśa*). That space in which all the other five substances exist is known as universe-space. That which is beyond this universe-space and has nothing in it is called non-universe-space.[12] It is empty space or pure space No other Indian philosophical system believes in such an empty space.

Time is the auxiliary cause of change. The souls etc , which are by their own nature in the process of constant change accompanied by continuity, are helped by time or as the media of motion and rest are helpful in the movement and stoppage of the souls and matter, time is helpful in the origination and destruction, i.e., modifications of the souls etc. In other words, the function of time is to assist the other substances in their continuity of being through gradual changes or modifications. Unlike the medium of motion etc. time is not a single continuous substance. The particles of time exist throughout the universe-space, each time-particle being located in each space-point. The innumerable substances (particles) existing one by one in every point of the universe-

[11] Without touch, taste, smell and colour

[12] *Dravyasangraha*, 19

space, like heaps of jewels, are the units of time.[13] They are formless. Thus, according to Jainism, time is not one substance but comprises innumerable substances. It consists of innumerable minute (indivisible) particles which never mix up with one another. This conception is a unique one in the history of Indian philosophy.

The Jaina holds that knowledge is like light. It is self-illuminating as well as other-illuminating.[14] This refutes the position of the Bhatta Mimamsakas etc. who hold the non-perceptibility of knowledge and the conception of the Yogacara Buddhists etc. who do not accept the reality of the external world.

Knowledge is of two kinds. Is this two-fold classification to be understood in the terms of the two kinds recognised by the Buddhists, viz., perceptual and inferential, or in a different way? The Jaina classification is certainly different It is in the terms of perceptual (*pratyakṣa*) and non-perceptual (*parokṣa*). The perceptual knowledge is direct or immediate, whereas the non-perceptual cognition is indirect or mediate.[15] That which knows is the soul and that which manifests itself in the soul without the operation of the senses and mind is direct or immediate knowledge, whereas that which arises with the functioning of the senses and mind is indirect or mediate knowledge.[16] Here the Jaina differs from those who contend that knowledge resulting from the operation of the senses is direct and that arising without the functioning of the senses is indirect.

The Vaisesika as well as the Sankhya maintains that there are three means of knowledge, viz., perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*) and word (*āgama*). The Naiyayika accepts analogy (*upamāna*) in addition to the three. The Prabhakara Mimamsaka adds implication (*arthāpatti*) as the fifth. The Bhatta Mimamsaka accepts negation (*abhāva*) as an additional means. All these means of valid knowledge, except negation, are included in the perceptual and non-perceptual cognitions recognised by the Jaina. As regards negation, it is not accepted to be different from perception. Since Reality partakes of the nature of both being and non-being, negation cannot have an object of its own. A Real, as a matter of fact, is made up of both being and non-being as its constitutive elements, since it has being in respect of its own nature and

[13] *Ibid.*, 22

[14] *Pariksa-mukham*, 1.1, *Pramana-naya-tattvaloka*, 1.2.

[15] *Pramana-mimamsa*, 1.1.9-10, 16 ; 1.2.1.

[16] *Sarvartha siddhi*, 1.12.

non-being in respect of the nature of anothers. A perceptual cognition determines its object by way of affirmation and negation. When we say that the Jar is not on the ground, we simply mean by it the perception of a surface of the ground and not a perception of the Jar. The surface of the ground itself is the negation of the Jar

The Jaina logicians divide perceptual knowledge into two categories. That perception which is directly derived from the soul is known as extra-sensory perception or real perception (*pāramārthika pratyakṣa*). The perception conditioned by the senses and mind is termed as sensory perception or pragmatic perception (*sāmvyavahārika pratyakṣa*).[17] Omniscience (*kevala*), telepathy (*manaḥparyaya*) and clairvoyance (*avadhi*) come under the first category. The second category consists of sensation (*avagraha*), speculation (*īhā*), determination (*avāya*) and retention (*dhāraṇā*).

The perfect manifestation of the innate cognitive nature of the soul, emerging on the complete annihilation of all the obstructive karmic veils, is called omniscience.[18] It is the highest type of perception. Omniscience is not the only instance of extra-sensory perception. There are other varieties also. Owing to the variation of the degrees of the destruction of obstructive viels, the extra-sensory perception admits of two varieties : limited knowledge, i.e., *avadhijñāna* and knowledge of the modes of mind, i.e., *manaḥparyāya-jñāna*[19] That extra-sensory perception which is confined to the objects having form, i.e , material objects, is called limited knowledge, i.e., clairvoyance. The mind, according to the Jaina, is a particular material substance. Its modes are the different changes of state emerging into acts of thought. The direct knowledge of these modes is called *manaḥparyāya-jñāna*, i.e., telepathy.

The non-perceptual knowledge is of five kinds . recollection (*smaraṇa*), recognition (*pratyabhijñāna*), induction (*tarka*), deduction (*anumāna*) and verbal knowledge (*agama*) [20]

Recollection is a cognition which has for its condition the stimulation of a memory-impression and which refers to its content by a form of the pronoun 'that'. It is Jainism alone that regards recollection as an independent organ of valid knowledge. As a consequence, it has to face

[17] *Pramana-naya-tattvaloka*, 2 4
[18] *Pramana-mimamsa*, 1 1 15.
[19] *Ibid* , 1 1 18
[20] *Pramana-naya tattvaloka*, 3 2

a number of objections from the side of opponents. How can recollection be an organ of cognition when it is not cognisant of a datum perceived at present, and thus is found to lack an objective basis? The answer is : It is certainly based on an object that has been experienced in the past. The reality of the object, and not its actually felt presence, is the condition of validity of a cognition. If the opponent thinks that the revelation of the relevant object is the criterion of validity, it is found to be equally present in recollection also. How can a dead object be the generating condition of a cognition like recollection? The Jaina answers : The object is not the generating condition of knowledge. As light, which comes into being on the operation of its own conditions, reveals the objects Jar and the like, though not generated by them so also a cognition, which comes into existence by its own conditions, viz., the sense-organ or the mind accompanied by the destruction-cum-subsidence of the obscuring veil, reveals its object, though it is not produced by the object. Moreover, if recollection is regarded invalid, one must be prepared to repudiate the validity of inference, since there is no possibility of inference being realised unless recollection has already taken note of the necessary concomitance. Hence, recollection has to be accepted as a valid and independent organ of knowledge.

Recognition is the synthetic cognition born of observation and recollection as typified by such forms as 'it is the same' (judgment of identity), 'it is like that' (judgment of similarity), 'this is different from that, (judgment of difference) and the like. Observation is the perceptual cognition and recollection is an act of memory. These two are the conditions of recognition which is a kind of synthetic knowledge. This refutes the view of the Buddhist who holds that there is no one knowledge as recognition, because it consists of two varieties in the form of this and that which are obvious and obscure respectively.

Induction or inductive reasoning is the knowledge of universal concomitance conditioned by observation and non-observation.[21] Observation in this context stands for the knowledge of existence of the major term (*sādhya*) on the existence of the middle term (*sādhana*) and non-observation for the knowledge of non-existence of the middle term on the non-existence of the major term. It cannot be maintained that such knowledge is derived exclusively from perception, since it is beyond the capacity of our ordinary perception to derive the knowledge of universal concomitance, for our sensory perception is limited, whereas the

[21] *Pramana-mimamsa*, I 2.5

knowledge of universal concomitance is unlimited. Nor can it be maintained that such knowledge is obtained by inference, since inference itself is not possible in the absence of universal concomitance. It follows, therefore, that induction or inductive reasoning is a separate organ of knowledge. It is known as *tarka* or *ūha* in the Jaina logic.

Deduction or inference is the knowledge of the probandum (*sādhya*) on the strength of the probans (*sādhana*). It was of two kinds : for one's own self, i.e., subjective and for others, i.e., syllogistic. The subjective inference consists in the cognition of the probandum from the probans ascertained by one's own self as having the sole and solitary characteristic of standing in necessary concomitance with the probandum. Necessary or universal concomitance with the probandum means the impossibility of the probans apart from the probandum. In other words, the probans has inseparable relation with the probandum. Inseparable relationship (*avinābhāva* or *anyathānupapatti*) consists in the universal necessity of simultaneous and successive occurrence of simultaneous and successive events. The triple characteristic of the probans maintained by the Buddhist, viz., its subsistence in the subject (*pakṣadharmatva*), its subsistence in the homologue (*sapakṣa-sattva*) and the absence of the same in a heterologue (*vipakṣavyāvṛtti*), as well as the five-fold characteristic maintained by the Naiyayika, viz., the absence of contradiction of the probandum (*abadhita-viṣayatva*) and the absence of a countervailing probans (*asat-pratipakṣatva*) in addition to the above three, is nothing but an elaboration of this inseparable relationship, i.e., *avinābhāva* or *anyathānupapatti*, recognised by the Jaina.

The syllogistic inference is the knowledge of the probandum derived from the satement of the probans having the characteristic of necessary concomitance Philosophers of different schools hold different views as regards the constitution of syllogism. The Sankhya maintains that a syllogism consists of three parts : thesis (*pakṣa*), resaon (*hetu*) and example (*dṛṣṭānta*). The Mimamsaka asserts four parts with the addition of application (*upanaya*). The Naiyayika asserts five parts with the addition of conclusion (*nigamana*). The Jaina holds that the thesis and reason constitute a syllogism adequate for an intelligent person.[22] For others it may have more propositions also

The cognition produced by the statement of a reliable person is called verbal knowledge. One, who knows the object as it is and states

[22] *Jaina-tarka-bhasa*, 1.50.

it as he knows it, is termed as reliable or authenitc (*āpta*).[23] Such a person can never tell a lie. The omniscient, who is totally free from passions, is regarded by the Jaina as the real or extraordinary authentic person. From the pragmatic point of view, father etc. are considered to be ordinary reliable persons. Verbal knowledge is also known as scriptural knowledge. The Jaina scriptures are neither eternal, i.e., *apauruṣeya* in the sense of the Mimamsaka nor God-Created, i e., *īśvara-kṛta* as conceived by the Naiyayika. They are human creations based on the preachings of the passionless omniscient *Tīrthaṅkara*. Hence, they are valid means of knowledge

Thus, Jainism has contributed a number of original ontological, epistemological and logical concepts and enriched the philosophical thought of India.

[23] *Ibid.*, 1.61.

The Nature and Forms of Knowledge

— Jaina View —

AMAL MAJUMDAR

Man finds himself in the possession of certain convictions which roughly speaking, he calls knowledge But all his convictions are not of the same value, and that he has to distinguish them as true and false. The awareness of such a distinction between true and false, what is also referred to as valid and invalid knowledge presupposes an enquiry into the origin and validity of all knowledge.

The sanskrit word *jñāna* stands for all kinds of cognition irrespective of the question of truth and falsehood But in Indian conceptions of knowledge *pramā* is used to designate only a true cognition (*yathārtha-jñāna*) as distinct from a false one (*mithyā-jñāna*). Consequently knowledge, strictly speaking, should always stand only for a cognition that is true, uncontradicted or unfalsified.

In every knowledge there must be a knower who knows and there must be some objects which is known. In the absence of any one we cannot have knowledge. But there must be a relation, a sort of contact between two. That is to say that the knower must come in contact with the object. Knowledge is different from our states of mind because it is certain and valid. There is always possibility of error or doubt that may creep into knowledge So we have to understand the nature of knowledge.

In the present paper I want to discuss the nature and forms of knowledge as viewed by the Jainas in brief. Because the subject is very wide in scope, it can not be treated fully in a small dissertation. My treatment of the topic falls under five sections, viz. (1) Self and knowledge (2) Is knowledge *svaprakāśa* or *paraprakāśa* ? (3) Is knowledge eternal or non-eternal? (4) *Darśana* and *jñāna*. (5) Forms of knowledge.

Jaina epistemology is closely related to the *karma*-theory which forms the basis of Jaina ethics and practical religion. The *karma*-theory is as old as Jainism itself and so we can regard the Jaina theory of knowledge as of great antiquity. There seems to have been no controversy

between the followers of Parsva and Mahavira regarding this theory of knowledge, though they differed and later on compromised on certain other topics.

The Jaina philosophers define knowledge as the determinate cognition of itself and an object as it really is. The object however must be novel and not known before. Knowledge arises out of the relation between the knower (*jñātā*) and the known (*jñeya*). Absence of either of these two will make knowledge impossible.

1. *Self and knowledge :*

Knowledge is defined by the Jainas *svaparabhāṣī*. In other words knowledge reveals both itself and the object. There is no instance of knowing an object without a concurrent perception of the knowing itself. If knowledge was not by itself known, it cannot make its object known. The nature of knowledge, like a lamp, illuminates itself as well as an external object and does not stand in need of another knowledge for its own illumination.

The soul is the knower and knowledge pertains to the soul or self as a mode of it, and not in the sense of an external possession. No other substance or thing possesses the faculty of knowing. The soul without any knowledge is unreality. Similarly, knowledge without any reference to soul is a mere word signifying nothing. Knowledge is the soul's intrinsic inherence inseparable and in-alienable attribute without which no soul can exist.

The Jainas hold that relation between soul and knowledge is one of *bhedābheda*. That means in one aspect knowledge is non-different from the soul and in another aspect it is different from the soul. Knowledge is the essential quality of the soul. In this aspect knowledge and soul are identical. According to Naiyaikas, knowledge is the accidental quality of the soul and there is a complete difference between knowledge and the soul. The Jainas reject the Naiyayika view of complete difference between knowledge and soul. The Jainas point out that if the soul and knowledge were different then there would be some sort of relation between them. That relation can not be of conjunction of *saṁyoga*, because this relation is possible only between two substances, not between a substance and its quality. Therefore knowledge and soul are identical and non-different in the same way as fire and heat are not different.

The Jainas believe in the doctrine of *anekāntavāda*, and hence do not accept either complete non-difference or complete difference between soul and knowledge. Although in one aspect knowledge and soul are identical, they point out that in practice (*vyavahāra*) both are different, when the self is used as *kartā* and knowledge is used as its *karma*. As when some one says fire burns by its hotness, fire is used as *kartā* and hotness is used as its *karma*. Here both are different. In the same way knowledge and self may be different in practical use, for example "One knows by knowledge".

The Jainas do not accept the Nyaya view of complete difference and Advaita view of complete non-difference between them. They hold that difference and non-difference are based on different aspects.

2. *Is knowledge eternal or non-eternal?*

The Jainas accept knowledge as both eternal and non-eternal. In one sense knowledge is eternal because it is the essential quality of the soul. There is no soul without knowledge. Knowledge is eternal from the transcendental point of view. But from the empirical point of view knowledge is non-eternal. Because empirical knowledge is perishable. It arises when the object is present and it disappears when the object is absent.

3. *Is knowledge svaprakāśa or Paraprakāśa?*

According to the Jainas, the Buddhist Vijnanavadins, the Prabhakaras and the Advaita Vedantins knowledge is known by itself. Though all these schools of philosophy agree to the self-revealing character of knowledge, yet there are some differences amongst them with regard to the nature of knowledge. On the other hand, some like Nyaya-Vaisesikas and Kumarila hold that knowledge is not self revealing.

According to the Jainas knowledge is self-disclosing. What is meant by this is that in every case of knowing an object we are immediately aware of the knowing itself. The same knowledge that reveals an object also reveals itself In order to establish this claim the Jainas point out that if knowledge is not self-disclosing, then an act of knowing, it will have to be known by another knowledge *B*. But *B* in turn can not reveal *A* without being revealed by *C* and *C* by *D* and so on without end. The vicious infinite regress involved in this process would make even the knowledge of object impossible. The Jainas point out that which is itself revealed can possibly reveal other. Knowledge is like the lamp of an

illuminator and does not stand in need of another knowledge for its own illumination. It reveals an object while it is revealed by iteself.

4. *Jñāna and darśana* :

Before considering the various types of knowledge, it is essential to consider the two stages through which knowledge is acquired. Consciousness is the defining characteristic of soul. The consciousness can be 'determinate' as well as 'indeterminate'. If *jñāna* is detailed and determinate knowledge, *darśana* is a general, indeterminate perception or cognition. Before we know a thing in a detailed way there is the stage when we simply perceive or become conscious of its existence. This is indefinite, indistinct intuition, that is *Darśana*. The details about the object are not perceived and naturally there is no question of identifying the object as belonging to a particular class or group. It contains only existence as its content. In the next stage we get clear and definite comprehension of the class characteristics of the object and this paves the way for a further expansion of the domain of knowledge.

The two stages of *darśana* and *jñāna* may be described as 'knowledge by acquaintance' and 'Knowledge about'. In the first stage (*darśana*) there is only the contact of the object with the mind and in the second (*jñāna*) there is a mental comprehension of the details about the quality and class of the object. This distinction is generally agreed to by all the Jaina philosophers through emphasis on the one or the other aspects of the dichotomy make for different expressions of the same fundamental position

When apprehension and comprehension are referred to as stages of getting knowledge, the question arises whether there is a temporal relationship between the two. In this context we find three views being expressed by the Jaina philosophers (1) that apprehension and comprehension occur simultaneously, (2) that they occur successively and (3) that there is a complete identity between the two. They also point out that the whole controversy regarding the simultaneity or otherwise of the occurance of apprehension and comprehension is only with respect to a perfected person—the Kevala-Jnani. There is no controversy regarding the imperfect man.

(1) The first is the cannonical position and the main argument put forward for this position is that in the perfected man, the apprehension obscuring *karma* as well as comprehension obscuring *karma* are both destroyed and since the obstruction are completely removed, *darśana*

and *jñāna* must both be simultaneous. More over *jñāna* and *darśana* are conscious activities and it is an Agamic principle that the two conscious activities can not occur simultaneously, omniscience itself would be conditional which is just opposed to the Jaina conception of *kevala-jñāna*. The Agamas, unanimously admit the impossibility of the simultaneous occurance of *jñāna* and *darśana*.

(2) The second view puts forward a logical argument against the first. If perfect apprehension and perfect comprehension were to occur simultaneously—what is the point in recognising two seperate veils of *karma*—the apprehension veiling and comprehension veiling? This view shows that the earlier stage is necessarily transcended in the later.

(3) The third view refers to the fact that in the perfected man senses and the mind do not serve any useful purpose. This means that there is no separate faculty for apprehension. From this it is clear that in the perfected man, if at all we are to think of an apprehension and a comprehension—it can only be in terms of identity between the two. It is evident that this view concedes the distinctness of apprehension and comprehension upto the level of '*manahparyāya*'-*jñāna* but not in *kevala-jñāna*.

The rightness or the wrongness of the knowledge is ultimately dependent upon the rightness or wrongness of the attitude. If the soul is possessed of right attitude its knowledge is necessarily right. If it is possessed of preverted attitude its knowledge is wrong. Knowledge is the intrinsic nature of the soul.

(5) *Knowledge and its forms* :

We must see first how do we become conscious of the self and the not-self All thinking implies a subject which thinks—soul. But all thinking is thinking of something, it means an object which is discriminated and understood by thought. Thus we can neither imagine a subject or thinking principle without an object to think upon. And this is how we become conscious of the self or subject and not-self or object.

Knowledge is of five different forms : (1) *Mati* (sensuous cognition), (2) *Sruta* (scriptural knowledge), (3) *Abadhi* (clairvoyance), (4) *Manah-paryāya* (telepathy), (5) *Kevala* (omniscience)

Mati : It is ordinary cognition, obtained by normal means of sense perception. *Mati* is that form of knowledge by which a *Jīva* cognises

an object through the operation of the sense-organ, all hindrances to the formation of such knowledge being removed. It includes *smṛti* or re-memberance, cogniton, inference or deductive reasoning. *Mati jñāna* is sometimes distinguished into three kinds—perception, memory and understanding.

Sruta : It means knowledge embodied in the scriptures. It is derived through signs, symbols or words. While *Mati-jñāna* gives us knowledge by acquaintance, this gives only knowledge by description. The former cognises only what is present but the later comprehends all the three time dimension (past, present and future). *Sruta-jñāna* is of four kinds—association, attention, understanding and aspects of the meaning of things.

Avadhi : It is the knowledge in the form of recognition of particular physical occurance that happened sometime in past all obstruction to the way being removed. It is a direct knowledge of things even at a distance of time or space.

Manahparyāya : It enables a person to know the mind, idea and thoughts of other persons without the help of medium or outside agency. It is an extra-sensory perception like the *Avadhi-jñāna*. This intuition of mental modes is a sort of telepathy.

Kevala-jñāna : It is the pure, absolute, complete, whole and total knowledge. It comprehends all substances and their modifications. It is omniscience unlimited by space, time or object. *Kevala-jñāna* is quite independent and directly spiritual, requiring no external aids, medium or agencies like the mind, the sense organ, light, words, signs etc. The soul itself spiritually knows, perceives or intuits all substances with all their modes without any limitation. It precedes the attainment of *mokṣa* (Liberation).

Of the five kinds of knowledge the first two are indirect and mediate as they are acquired through the sense-organs and mind. The other three are direct and immediate because for them the soul requires no media such as the senses and the mind. Again the first three kinds of knowledge (the sensuous, the scriptural and clairvoyant) may be right or they may be wrong, false or perverted. It depends upon the attitude of the knower. If his attitude or outlook is perverted the knowledge obtained by him can not be right.

In conclusion it can be said that the salient features of Jaina epistemology is that in its strictest sense there is one and only one type of immediate and real knowledge—that is *Kevala-jñāna*. The omniscient stage of mans' progress in his knowledge-persuit is the stage where reality is intuited fully without any obstruction whatsoever. It is one wholesome experience which does not incorporate within itself limitations, characteristic of experience in space and time.

Evolution of Jaina Sangha

J. C. SIKDAR

[From January 1978 issue]

PART III

Pre-modern and Modern Jaina Sanghas :

Jaina Sanghas recorded in epigraphs that almost bridge the gap from the pre-modern Jaina Sanghas or Ganas or Gacchas to modern Jaina Sanghas have been in archaeological deposits in India.[1] These pre-modern Jaina Sanghas probably lived too recently to be the parents of modern Jaina Sanghas,[2] but they illustrate the kind of changes by which the transition from the pre-modern Jaina Sanghas to modern Jaina Sanghas was made. They are now regarded as progressive monastic orders adopted for following up right progressive ascetic life on the monastic line from the common parental Sanghas.

One of the early Jaina Sanghas was Nirgrantha Sangha[3] or Gaccha whose archaeological records are found at Mathura[4], in Bengal[5], Kalinga[6] and South India.[7] It had the capacity of missionary activity. Exploration and excavations during the early 1920's of certain places near Mathura (U.P.), at Pahadpur (Bengal), at Hathigumpha (Kalinga) and in South India and other places have revealed many archaeological remains and records of Jaina monasteries.[8] Among them there were a few Sanghas which belonged to a primitive Sangha of the early century.[9] Further explorations and excavations at these places have revealed parts of a

[1] See *Jaina Silalekha Sangraha*, Pts. I-IV.
[2] e.g. Tapagaccha, the parent of Lonkagaccha.
[3] *Pattavali Samuccaya*, Pt. I, p. 45.
[4] See *Early Mathura Inscriptions*, also *Jaina Silalekha Sangraha*
[5] See *Modern Review*, August, 1931, p. 150.
[6] Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela, L 9.
[7] *Jaina Silalekha Sangraha*, Pt. II, pp. 69-70.
[8] See *Jaina Silalekha Sangraha*, Pts. I-IV.
[9] e.g. Nirgrantha Sangha, Kotika Gana, etc., Varana Gana (Carana Gana), Vajjanagari Sakha, etc., Majjhimika Sakha, etc. See Inscriptions of Mathura and other places like Hathigumpha and Udayagiri, etc.

large number of individual monastic orders.[10] It is now possible to reconstruct fairly accurately what this ancient Jaina monastic orders looked like.

Archaeological remains of early Jaina monastic orders found at Mathura, in Bengal, Kalinga and South India are slightly different but similar enough to be grouped together as primitive Jaina monastic orders. This group which includes Nirgrantha Gaccha, Kotika Gaccha etc. descended from some primitive Jaina Sangha in the post-Mahavira period. In the Acarya period there have been found also some Jaina Sanghas which used both stone and other hard materials for the monasteries.[11] They were considerably more advanced than the primitive ones for shelter of wandering monks, probably they were the descendant monastic orders of the early Sanghas. Modern Jaina Sangha as a whole includes not only all the living Jaina monastic orders—the Svetambaras and the Digambaras, but also some extinct ones, e.g. some of eighty four Gacchas of the Svetambaras and some of the Digambara Jaina Sanghas. The idea that modern Jaina Sanghas appeared relatively recently in the late fifteenth Century A. D. is no longer valid, for the antiquity of some Gacchas or Ganas like Nirgrantha Gaccha, Kotika Gaccha, etc. is now authenticated by the literary and epigraphic records.[12] So it may be inferred that some modern Jaina Sanghas were contemporary of other former Jaina Sanghas and perhaps antidated them.[13] The centres of modern Jaina Sanghas particularly of the Svetambaras, appear to have been in Western realm[14] of Jaina Sanghas which spread out in different directions. In the course of evolution they have not increased greatly in number and stature. Their monastic structures have become less massive. The evolutionary trend toward greater intelligence and learning made them less dependent upon their sheer strengh of number[15] for survival. They have begun to

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] All the Jaina monasteries are made of stones and other hard materials as is evidenced from Mathura rims and all the *vasathis* of South India. Vide *Jaina Silalekha Sangraha*, I, IV.

[12] See *Kalpasutra Sthaviravali; Nandisutra Pattavali*; *Pattavali Samuccaya*, Pt. I; *Early Mathura Inscriptions, Jaina Silalekha Sangraha*, pt. II, pp. 11-53.

[13] e.g. Tapagaccha, the sixth evolutionary form of Nirgranthagaccha while initiating monks tells them that their Gana is Kotika, Sakha is Vajri and Kula is Candra, that is to say, the root of the present living Tapagaccha lies in that of Kotika Gana, etc. as mentioned in *Kalpasutra Sthaviravali* and *Early Mathura Inscriptions*.

[14] Rajasthan and Gujarat.

[15] Tapagaccha monks live in *upasrayas*.

live in groups (*tolās*) in *upāsrayas* and the houses of the laities,[16] completing the transition from their ancestral or parental solitary arboreal primitive states to a grand dwelling civilized state.

Cultural Evolution of Jaina Sangha :

Although most of the evidence of the path of evolution of Jaina Sangha is gleaned from the actual literary records and archaeological remains, some corroborative evidence comes from its cultural achievements. The study of Jaina cultute from the age of Rsabhadeva upto the present day reveals that Jainadharma made a great contribution to Indian culture in various fields. Although the early Jaina Sanghas must have learned to pick up and use temple-stones of a convenient size for *vasathis*[17] and for the Acarya period apparently they learned how to use *rajahaaṇa* and modern begging bowls, *daṇda*, etc.

In the age of the Tirthankara Mahavira there were both *sacelaka* and *acelaka* monks,[18] i.e. the direct followers of Mahavira, with the the exception of the converted Parsvapatyas, [19] were generally shorn of clothes, Jinakalpika[20] monks did not have any requisite for their monastic life, but Sthavirakalpika[21] monks had a few requisites, such as, clothes, etc. After the demise of Mahavira Jaina Sangha changed the mode of ascetic life according to the conditions of place and time with the evolutionary process of the monastic order. So later on *kāṣṭhapātra* (wooden begging bowels), *daṇḍa* (stick), *rajaharaṇa* (broom), *mukhapatti* (piece of cloth for covering mouth), clothes, etc. came into use by the monks, particularly the Svetambara monks. Besides, the Mandiramargin monks brought back all paraphernalia of Brahmanical cult for the image worship of the Jinas as the essential requisites.[22] It is to be noted that there was no prohibition to change the monastic system, but the development of it was made by Jaina Sangha or Sanghas with the march of time.

[16] Sthanakavasin and Terapanthin monks temporarily reside in the houses of the Sravakas, but *upasrayas* are now being built for them also.

[17] See *Early Mathura Inscriptions*; Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela; Dig. *vasathis* of monks in South India, and *Jaina Silalekha Sangraha*, Pts. I-IV.

[18] See *Uttaradhyayana Sutra* 23.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] *"pavvajja sikkha payamatthaggahanam ca aniyao vaso i nipphatti ya viharo samayari thii eva"*, *Brhatkalpa Sutra*, I. 4, *Abhidhana Rajendra*, p. 1463.

[21] *"pavajja sikkhavaya-ma atthaggahanam ca aniyao vaso i nipphatti ya viharo, samayari thii ceva i"*, *Sthananga*, 3. 85, *Abhidhana Rajendra*, p. 1387. Sthavirakalpina monks have a few requisites.

[22] The veracity of this fact can be ascertained if one peeps into the Jaina temples and sees the articles for image worship for himself.

It took the best course of middle path by introducing reforms for the use of essential limited requisites by the Jaina monks according to the conditions of their ascetic life.

Jaina culture evolved more rapidly than the previous one in the age of Mahavira which was represented by the historical period.[23] The North-eastern branch of this culture called "Mahaviran" was associated with the Tirtha and Ganas of Mahavira.[24] Later in the post-Mahavira period after his *nirvāṇa* an improved system of Jaina Sangha was founded, i.e. more consolidated Jaina Sangha with strict monastic rules and regulations, studies, etc. came into existence.[25] This might have produced later many branches of original Jaina Sangha with multifariousness, skilfully worked out by different Acaryas and they were the centres of true works of arts

The Upper Stage of Culture of Sangha:

Jaina Sanghas were the patrons of art as well as skilled craftsmen, for their paintings [26] and sculptures[27] found in India show a remarkable grasp of the principles of design. New temples (or cave temples)[28] found in different parts of India have a wealth of beautifully preserved paintings and sculpture of contemporary animals.

[23] Mahavira introduced five great vows (*pancamahavratas*) and other monastic reforms in his Sangha which throw much light upon the evolution of Jaina culture

[24] Mahavira's main centres of religious activities was in Bihar, although he made religious tour up to Sindhu-Sauvira in the west and Radhadesa (Burdwan) in the east In this Tirtha or Sangha there were nine Ganas and eleven Ganadharas.

[25] After the demise of Mahavira Sudharma Svami became the head of Jaina Sangha who consolidated it with strict monastic rules and regulations, studies of the *Agamas*, etc. as evidenced in the transmission of the Agamas to his disciple, Jambusvami.

[26] Jaina art as revealed in golden colour and linings in the *Kalpasutra* Ms and other religious texts and secular works depicting the life of the society and people at large, a large number of *firmans* issued by the Muslim rulers, long *amantranapatras* (invitation letters) written by the laities to the Jainacaryas on some occasions containing the account of geography, etc , *surimantra cakras*, temple arts, etc are the great contributions of Jaina Sanghas in various parts of the country

[27] e g Dilwara temple contains great specimens of Jaina sculpture as revealed in the artistic creation of gods and goddesses, animals, birds, etc. The Vaisali specimen of the image of Mahavira, the image of Bahubali in Karnataka, etc. are the masterpieces of sculpture worked out under the directions of Jaina monks

[28] There are some best Jaina paintings in Jaina cave temples, such as at Sittanavasal, Elora and Elephanta.

The next stage of Jaina culture shows important advance over rural culture. The new age of Jaina culture originated in the western India somewhere between Rajasthan and Gujarat It is characterized by works which bear the marks of careful study and the beginning of a new era of agriculture and industry.[29]

Jaina Sanghas or Ganas or Gacchas gradually changed from a wandering life to a settled life, living in *upāśrayas*[30] and *vasathis*.[31] The increase in the food supply (i.e. *bhikṣā*) of the laitics led to the increase in the size of Jaina Sangha or Sanghas. With the new age Jaina Sanghas entered into the modern age which was initiated by them, mastering the teachings of theology from all Indian religious sources.[32]

The Present Jaina Sanghas:

The differences between the various Jaina Sanghas living to-day are just as those between a number of other related Jaina Sanghas, generally regarded as different Gacchas. However, since all modern Jaina Sanghas are inter-communicative as far as any one knows. The qualities which distinguish Jaina Sanghas or Ganas or Gacchas are physical and monastic, similar to but smaller than those distinguishing the members of the large categories.

It should be clear by now that ultimately all the present Jaina Sanghas had a common origin[33] and that probably there is no such thing as a pure original Jaina Sangha at present. Further more any particular quality, such as, Sangha colour (characteristic), varies tremendously with each Jaina Sangha or Gana or Gaccha so that a monk of one Sangha or Gana or Gaccha may have a different insignia, e.g. *rajaharaṇa*, as a typical insignia of a Svetambara monks and a *mayūrapicchi* (broom of peacock's

[29] "In this western part of India there are Jaina agriculturists and industrialists. From the very beginning the Jainas took much interest in improved method of agriculture along with other communities. But they advanced more in the field of industry with the advent of the Europeans in collaboration with them."

[30] *Upasrayas* are built by the Svetambara laities for their monks.

[31] *Vasathis* are built by the Digambara laities for their monks.

[32] It is clearly revealed in the works of Ac. Pujyapada, Ac. Akalanka and Ac Vidyanandin, Ac. Hemacandra, etc.

[33] All Jaina Sanghas living at present trace their origin to the Tirtha or Sangha of Mahavira. It is natural that Tirtha or Sangha of Mahavira evolved into various branches, sub-branches, etc. after his demise upto the present day in different forms and still they continue to evolve with the march of time.

feathers) of a Digambara ascetic as a distinct mark of the Sangha instead of *rajaharana*.[34]

The Northern Jaina Sangha probably included a greater diversity of types of sub-Sanghas[35] or Ganas, Kulas and Sakhas in the early stage of evolution than did either of the two main Jaina Sanghas—Svetambara and Digambara in the beginning. In fact, so great is the diversity that only a few characteristics are shared by all members of the Sangha. Generally speaking, however, the following traits are typical of these divisions of Jaina Sangha.

The earliest eastern group of Jaina Sanghas includes Godasagana, Kotivarsika, Tamraliptika, etc [36] and is centralized between Bihar and Bengal. Typically the monks of these Sanghas had some liberal views on the monastic rules and behaviours [37]

The South-eastern group of Jaina Sanghas of Kalinga which is partially a branch of eastern group includes Nirgrantha Gaccha, etc.[38] Its members were probably characterized by the cultural synthesis of Northern and Eastern India, as typical to Orissa with its local culture The Hathigumpha inscription of king Kharavela throws some light upon this point by depicting the life of the Jaina laities and monks to some extent

The Southern group of Jaina Sanghas consists of Svetapata Mahasramana Sangha, Nirgrantha Mahasramana Sangha,[39] Mula Sangha,[40]

[34] The Sthanakavasin and Terapanthin monks have *mukhapatti* in addition to *rajaharana*

[35] In the post-Mahaviran period there issued many Ganas, Kulas, and Sakhas from the parent Jaina Sangha in North India. See *Kalpasutra Sthaviravali, Nandisutra Pattavali* and *Early Mathura Inscriptions* Also *Jaina Silalekha Sangraha*, Pt. II pp 11-53

[36] See *Kalpasutra Sthaviravali*

[37] Some rules in the *Kalpasutra* composed by Bhadrabahu, regarding the acceptance of alms by the monks indicate liberal views, e.g. whatever alms is given by the laities should be accepted Probably the local conditions and environments of Bengal and Bihar made an impact on the social life in evolving such rules for the monks living in eastern India

[38] See Hathigumpha Inscription of king Kharavela, and *Select Inscriptions* by Dr. D C Sircar, pp 206-11. Of course, it is clear that an early Jaina monastic order flourished there, but its name is not so clear.

[39] *Jaina Silalekha Sangraha*, Pt. II, pp. 69-70.

[40] *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 56.

Yapaniya Sangha,[41] Kurccaka Sangha,[42] Dravida Sangha,[43] Kastha Sangha,[44] Mathura Sangha,[45] etc. whose ancestry includes the northern strains and some local southern origins, i.e. commingling of both. This fact show a redaction in religious rites of orthodox Jainas and the assertion of local religious rites and beliefs. The members of the Southern group of Jaina Sanghas were numerous in the Southern realm of Jaina Sangha and they are found as far as Inner area and Northern region of it.

In the Western group of Jaina Sanghas there are found two or three similar factors so important in the Sangha-composition of modern India that they must be described in brief. The sects of Lonka Gaccha,[46] Sthanakavasins[47] and Terapanthins[48] were formed by the inter-association of the various *sub-sects* on the basis of the principle of anti-image cult and other minor differences of monastic rules and conducts and they show a combination of their characteristics.

Lonka Gaccha was founded by Lonka Shah by making a blending of thoughts on the anti-image cult. And it is typically puritan in its outlook on the ascetic life. A large number of monks of this sect flourished in Gujarat and Rajasthan.

The Sthanakavasin sect is a mixture of Lonkagaccha, having its anti-image cult, and other Jaina sects Its monks are flourishing in Western realm of Jaina Sangha, i e. mostly in Gujarat and Rajasthan.

The Terapanthin sect was born out of the Sthanakavasin sect under the spiritual leadership of Acarya Bhikhamji who fell out from his guru and his ancestral or parental Sangha. This sect is based on the thirteen

[41] *Ibid.*, Nos. 99, 100, etc. It appears that Yapaniya Sangha was the native school of Jaina Sangha in South India.

[42] *Ibid*, Nos. 37, p. 70.

[43] *Darsanasara*, Jinasena, 26, *Jaina Silalekha Sangraha*, Pt II, No. 166, p. 207, etc

[44] *Jaina Silalekha Sangraha*, Pt. III, p. 579, etc

[45] *Ibid.*, IV, No 265, p. 115, etc

[46] *Pattavali Samuccaya*, Pt. 1, pp. 66-67, 156-7, 172, etc.

[47] See Notes on the Sthanakavasin by Kesari Chand Bhandari (Indore) and *Pattavali Paraga Sangraha*.

[48] *Pattavali Paraga Sangraha*; *Jain Sraman Sanghaka Itihas*, p. 108.

principles[49] excluding *dayādharma*[50] (compassion) and is found in Western realm of Jaina Sangha. Now its present leader Acarya Tulsi is leading the *anuvrata* movement (movement of smaller vows) for the laities throughout India.

South Indian Jaina Sanghas:

It is generally believed that the original characteristics of South Indian Jaina Sangha or Sanghas bore the stamp of North Indian Jaina Sangha,[51] as Jainism spread from North India to the South. But no one knows when the change for different characteristics of the branches of this original Sangha (Mula Sangha)[52] occurred in the course of the evolution of Jaina Sangha Nor it is known how the specialization of southern Jaina Sanghas came about or what relationships southern sub-Sanghas bear to each other.

Modern Southern Jaina Sanghas, particularly Digambara, occur naively in two separate parts of South India—Karnataka and Maharastra. It is the historical fact that Jaina Sangha originated in North India and from there a part of it migrated to the South to those localities—Karnatadesa, Andhradesa, Tamil Nadu and Kerala.[53] The evidence that the Southern Jaina Sanghas were once present along with the Southern and South-eastern coasts of India is supplied by the South Indian traits of native culture and archaeological records.[54] But the relationship between the South Indian Jaina Sangha and the South Indian people is still undetermined. Most of the Southern Jaina Sanghas have native tinge of culture.[55]

[49] (1) *ahimsa* (non-violence), (2) *satva* (truth), (3) asteya (non-stealing), (4) *brahmacarya* (continence), (5) *aparigraha* (non-possession), (6) *iriyasamiti*, (7) *bhasasamiti*, (8) *esanasamiti*, (9) *adanabhandamatraniksepanasamiti*, (10) *uccaraprasravanakhelasimghanaparisthapanikasamiti* (self-restraint in walking, speech etc), (11) *kayagupti*, (12) *managupti* and (13) *vakagupti* (control of body, of mind and of speech)

[50] See *Jain Sraman Sanghaka Ithihas*, p. 108

[51] e g Nirgranthamahasramanasangha of South India bears the stamp of Nirgrantha Sangha or Gana or Gaccha of Mathura (U P) See *Jaina Silalekha Sangraha*, Pt II, pp. 69-70.

[52] *Jaina Silalekha Sangraha*, Pt II, No 94, p 61 (*paramarhatasya vijayakirteh*, . *mulasanghenanusthitaya*, etc.)

[53] See *Jainism in South India* by P. B. Desai.

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] See *Jainism in South India*. Land grants to Jainacaryas in charge of *vasathis* for maintenance of Jaina monasteries and other Brahmanical characteristics of South Indian Jaina Sanghas indicate their native tinge of culture. Also see *Jaina Silalekha Sangraha*, Pt. I-IV, dealing with South Indian inscriptions.

South-eastern Jaina Sangha is characterized by straight coarses of Jaina culture in Kalinga,[56] while the classic Eastern Jaina Sanghas are found in Bengal.[57] It is difficult to make generalization about the mental and physical and monastic superiority of any modern Jaina Sangha. Firstly, no Jaina Sangha clings to its original characteristics Jaina Sangha's evolutionary history is one of continuous intermixture of Sanghas, as the monks migrated or joined other Sanghas[58] or they absorbed the members of their neighbouring Sanghas[59] or were absorbed by them.

Secondly, the testing of intelligence and phychological and monastic traits of any Sangha is vastly complicated by the difficulty of differentiating between inherited and environmental influences. The benefits of a good environment are incalculable

Jaina Sanghas are found sometimes to be a victim of pride and prejudice in regard to their respective monastic rules and regulations and modes of ascetic life and conduct.[60]

[*To be Continued*]

[56] See Hathigumpha Inscriptions of king Kharavela of Kalinga and other Jaina cave temples in Orissa, e.g Udayagiri

[57] e.g Godasagana, Kotivarsika, Tamraliptika, etc. See *Kalpasutra Sthaviravali*

[58] e g. Kanjisvami who was once a Svetambara monk has now become a Digambara monk on his conviction of the philosophy of Acarya Kundakunda.

[59] It is known from the *Pattavalis* that sometimes some Murtipujaka monks became Sthanakavasin and sometimes some Sthanakavasin monks became Murtipujaka monks and were absorbed in the Murtipujaka Sangha, e g Bhanaji Rsi became Tapagacchi from Lonkagaccha, Terapanthin Sesamalji became a Sthanakavasin monk

[60] Any personal contact of an impartial observer with a modern Jaina Sangha will reveal this fact

Excerpt from Tughluq Dynasty*

......the emperor patronized the Hindus and Jains alike. Ziyau'ddin Barani describes them all indiscriminately as *multāniān*[1]—a term used for money-lenders. According to a Jain account the Jains were the bankers of medieval India.[2] The Jain monks were invited to the royal court and the Jain laity occupied influential positions in state service. Nain was an officer under Sultan Jalalu'ddin Khalji. His son Dusaje held an influential position in the Alai[3] government and continued to enjoy the same under Ghiyasu'ddin Tughluq and Sultan Muhammad successively. Feru[4] was a jeweller and a leading merchant during the reign of 'Alau'ddin Khalji ; Samar Singh Jain[5] was a close friend of Alp Khan, the Khalji governor of Gujarat. He repaired with the permission of the Khalji government the famous Satrunjaya temple of Palitana 'with great pomp and ceremony' in 1315 A.D. Then he was invited to Delhi by Qutbu'ddin Mubarak Shah who made him his commissioner (*Vyavahāra*). Sultan Ghiyasu'ddin Tughluq regarded him as his own son and sent him to Telingana where he built many temples. Sultan Muhammad looked upon him as his brother and made him governor of Telingana.[6] The unique position that Samar Singh Jain thus enjoyed is attested by Nayachandra, a contemporary Jain poet, who says ;

> 'Free from greed Muhammad (bin Tughluq) used to give lakhs of dinars, scattering them like grass every year uniformly to acquire merit by helping the poor and the afflicted. He (Samar Simha) is the only great man and none else, who obtained appreciation of King Muhammad Shah.'[7]

* By (Agha) Mahdi Husain, Calcutta, 1963, pp 315-323

1 *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi*, Barani, Calcutta, 1862, p 385.
2 *Proceedings of Oriental Conference*, Baroda, 1933, pp. 629-633.
3 Alai is an adjective and abbreviation of Alau'ddin.
4 Feru ('the Rehla of Ibn Battuta,' *G.O.S*, p. 287) wrote *Vattubusarapayaranam* in V.S. 1372 (A.D 1313)
5 Also called Samara Simha and Samara Shah He was a Jain chief of Anhalwara.
6 Sheth, C. B., *Jainism in Gujarat*, p. 179.
7 (i) *Pr. Or. Con.*, Baroda, 1933
(ii) *Pr. I.H.C.*, 1941, p. 301

Futhermore, Raja Sekhara,[8] Bhima,[9] Mantri Bhanaka,[10] Mahendra Suri,[11] Bhattaraka Simha Kirti,[12] Somaprabha Suri,[13] Somatilaka Suri,[14] Sena Suri[15] and Jinaprabha Suri enjoyed royal favours. Raja Sekhara and Jinaprabha Suri were scholars ; and, by virtue of their scholarly works, enjoyed close access to emperor Muhammad bin Tughluq. Bhima was a wealthy merchant who gave large sums of money in charity at the outbreak of famine in Gujarat during the reign of Ghiyasu'ddin Tughluq in V. S. 1376-77 (A.D. 1321). Then he erected the image of Bhimasimhaprasad in a temple on Mr. Abu. Subsequently three more images identified with Gosala, Gunadevi and Ambikadevi, were added and the opening ceremony of the temple was performed.[16] In this connection some interesting details are collected by a modern Gujarati scholar in his book entitled *Jinaprabha Sūri Ane Sultān Mahammad.* He says :

'It is but natural to wonder how that emperor of Delhi (Sultan Muhammad) became well-disposed towards the Jain Sangha and what he did for it. We wonder how he was introduced to that Jain saint, Jinaprabha Suri who exercised wholesome influence on him to such an extent that he made the Jain *dharma* and society quite safe. Also the Jain *tirthas* were protected against every kind of aggression ; and Jinaprabha Suri unfurled the banner of Jainism by recovering from the Muslims the idol of the Jain apostle Mahavira. He was profoundly respected by the emperor. Unfortunately we know little about him and have not been able to appreciate his works. However, this book is intended to present before the public some historical evidence in this connection. It is also intended to present about Sultan Muhammad some facts which are not found in the (Muslim) chronicles and are hidden in the contemporary Sanskrit-Prakrit sources.'[17]

These facts are traceable in the works of Jinaprabha Suri and his disciple Sangh Tilak Suri in the light of the following extracts :

(i) 'This book was finished in Yoginipattana in the Vikrama era 1389 (1322 A.D.) in the latter part of the month of Bhadra on Wednesday, the tenth day of the moon when Hammir Mahammada

[8-10] Sheth, C. B., *Jainism in Gujarat*, p. 181.

[11-15] Vide *Pr. I.H.C.* (1941), pp. 301-302 and Inscription, No 46. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 88, pp. 377-378.

[16] *Op. cit.*

[17] *J.P.S.B.*, (Lohawat, V. S., 1986) pp. 1-2.

(Muhammad) was ruling powerfully over the whole earth. May this book, *Kalpa-pradīpa* by name, sanctified by the utterances of the Tirthas (Tirthankaras) and of the devotees of the Tirthas (or sanctified by the record of the sacred places (Tirthas) and of the devotees of the Tirthas), flourish and enjoy popularity for ever.'[18]

(ii) 'One evening in V. S. 1385 (1328-29 A.D.) of the first half of the month of Pausa, Jinaprabha Suri met Maharajadhiraja Mahammada (Sultan Muhammad) who offered him a seat near his own and enquired after his health. Jinaprabha Suri gave him blessings They entered into a conversation which continued till midnight. For the rest of the night Jinaprabha Suri lived in the royal palace On the morrow the Sultan presented him good many gifts out of which Jinaprabha Suri accepted a few only. Then he asked for a *firman* for the protection of the Jain *tīrthas* which the Sultan gave immediately '[19]

(iii) 'In V. S. 1385 (1328 A.D.) an accursed fellow[20] of the Viya[21] dynasty invaded Asinagar[22] and arrested a number of Jains, laymen as well as *bhikṣus*. An image of Parsvanatha was broken while an image of Mahavira, which had remained intact, was taken to Bhillipuri and transferred to Tughluqabad and deposited in the treasury there. For fifteen months it was kept there under the custody of the Turks. In course of time Sultan Muhammad (Sri Mahammada Surttana) came to Yoginipura from Deogiri. Later Jinaprabha Suri too came to Dhilli-Sahapur. It so happened that the learned men of the royal court asked the emperor (Maharaina) to name the most distinguished pandit of the age There upon Pandit Dharadhara began to sing praises in honour of Jinaprabha Suri and the emperor was pleased to call him to his court. Jinaprabha Suri came and met the emperor (Maharajadhiraja) in the evening of 2nd Pausa, the bright fortnight 1385 V. S. (November 1328). The emperor offered him a seat close by his side and enquired after his health. Jinaprabha Suri blessed the learned men at the royal court. Then began some discussion, which continued till midnight. Jinaprabha Sri spent the rest of the night at the place and met the emperor again at sunrise. The emperor (Maha-naro-deo) conferred on

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 32
[20] Perhaps a *shiqdar* (*Pr. I.H.C* 1941 p. 299).
[21] A name which has been corrupted and cannot be identified.
[22] Perhaps a corrupt form of Asirgarh.

him one thousand cows and much wealth including garments, blankets perfumes, sandal-paste and camphor. But Jinaprabha Suri declined all these on the plea that such royal gifts were not fit for a *sādhu*. later he took a few garments and blankets, and entered into discussion with the learned men at the royal court.[23]

'The discussion over, the emperor sent for a couple of best elephants, one of which was mounted by Jinaprabha Suri and the other one by Jinadeva Acarya. In this state they proceeded to the *posaśālā*[24] attended *by* drummers, conch-blowers and players on musical instruments—*mṛdaṅga, kansala, dhola, mārdala*—and amidst a throng of the reciters and the Sangha. As soon as the processionists entered the *posaśālā* a Jain ceremony was performed and many gifts were distributed.[25]

'Afterwards the emperor (Patasahina) issued a *firman* guaranteeing protection to the Svetambara Jains at the time of rebellions throughout the empire. Then he released many captives.

'Later, the Guru went to the royal palace on Monday while it was raining. The emperor (Surattana) met him. Then Malik Kafur[26] (Malikka-Kaphur) brought a piece of silk which he gave as a royal gift to Jinaprabha Suri who, after blessing the emperor, recited some verses in his praise. The emperor was highly pleased and the Guru seized the favourable opportunity, thus created, to ask back the image of Mahavira. The emperor favoured him with the desired image. It was brought out of the treasure house of Tughluqabad and handed over to him in the open court. Subsequently the image was installed in Malik Taj-din-serai[27] with great eclat.

'Jinaprabha Suri having then prepared to leave for Maharashtra, his disciple Jinadeva Suri was put in charge of the Jain centre of activities at Dhilli-mandala. On the eve of his departure the emperor

[23] *J.P.S., Vividha-tirtha-kalpa*, Pt. I (Santiniketan) pp. 45-46.

[24] *Posa-sala* literally means maintencane house or lodge.

[25] *J.P.S.B.*, p. 33.

[26] Malik Kafur, *muhardar* (keeper of the seal) had been killed under the order of Sultan Ghiyasu'ddin Tughluq. The man here mentioned may be identified with Malik Kafur Lang, mentioned by Barani (*T.F.S.*, p. 455).

[27] The image was taken from Tughluqabad to Jahanpanah and installed there at the Taj-din-serai where was also built a Jain monastery (called Sultan-serai after the Sultan) as well as a Jain temple.

Vide Jhavary, M.B.D., *Comparative and Critical Study of Mantrasastra*, pp. 229-230.

was pleased to give Jinaprabha Suri a set of gifts which included bulls, horses, tents and plalanquins. On their arrival at Daulatavad (Deogiri-nagar) Jinaprabha Suri and his party were accorded a welcome and feted on behalf of the emperor. Then they went to Paithan[28] where they visited the image of Muni Suvrata, a Jain Tirthankara.'[29]

(iv) 'With his superhuman knowledge Sri Jinaprabha Suri pleased Mahammada Shahi who was a great Muslim emperor of Dilli.'[30]

(v) 'When the emperor (Rajadhiraja) visited the Satrunjaya[31] *tirtha* he was the first to be delighted on hearing the contents of this *Satruñjaya-tirthakalpa* So this *Kalpa* is entitled as Raja-prasad [32] May this (work) enjoy perpetuity.[33]

'This work is solemnly dedicated (to the emperor) on Friday in Samvat 1385 in the bright fortnight, 6th day of the moon '[34]

(vi) 'Sinhakirti, the great son of Vidyananda Swami—a man of excellent character and lineage—was born in the region surrounded by the Mandara hills.[35] He was blessed with offerings by Mahammada (Sultan Muhammad) in the city of Dilli (Dillipuri).'

(vii) 'The emperor, guided by Jinaprabha Suri, visited the Satrunjaya temples at Palitana as well as the idol-houses of Girnar In the Satrunjaya temples he performed some acts of devotion appropriate to a leader of Jain Sangha.'[36]

[28] Paithan, one of the oldest cities in the Deccan, stands in the Aurangabad district on the Godavari. It contains some ancient temples

[29] *J.P S.B.*, pp. 34-35. Cf. *Pr I.H C.*, 1941, p 299.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 39

[31] Satrunjaya, the most sacred of the five hills of the Jains at the eastern base of which the town of Palitana is situated, 70 miles north-west of Surat (Law, B C., *Mountains of India*, p. 19)

[32] Literally 'Sultan's favour'

[33-34] Jinaprabha Suri, *Vividha-tirtha-kalpa* (Santiniketan, 1934) pt. I, p 5.

[35] Mandara hills are identified by Cunningham (*A.G.I*, p. 582) as well as by B C Law (*Mountains of India*, Calcutta, 1944 p 16) with Mandara hill situated 30 miles to the south of Bhagalpur If the poet were born near Delhi, then these must be the Arravali hills of Delhi.

At any rate the Jain poet Sinhakirti flourished during the reign of Sultan Muhammad and was honoured by him

Cf. *Pr I H C.* 1941, p 297.

[36] Jhavery, M. B., *Comparative and Critical Study of Mantrasastra*, p 28.

Son of Ratan Lal, a Jain devotee (*śrāvaka*), and his wife Khetala Devi of Vadodra village, Jinaprabha Suri bore the name of Subhata-Pala Suri in his childhood. It is surmised that he was born in V. S. 1317 (A. D. 1261) and died in V. S. 1382 (A. D. 1331). But the probability is that he was born in V. S. 1326/1270 A.D. and died in V. S. 1390/1334 A.D. While still a child he was taken by his parents to Deogiri where his Guru Jinasimha Suri named him Jinaprabha Suri and his tutelary deity, Padmavati Devi, foretold a bright future that awaited him at Delhi. Accordingly he went to Delhi in 1226 A.D. for the first time; and then in 1329. The emperor was pleased to discuss with him some problems of religion and heard him sing the *Vijaya Yanira* which, it was believed, protected miraculously the person wearing it against all mishaps and attacks Presumably the emperor could understand Sanskrit as well as Prakrit in which language Jinaprabha Suri spoke. Jinaprabha Suri might have spoken Persian as well ; for it is said that he recited Persian verses at the royal court, and thereby awakened the jealously of some courtiers—Muslims[37] as well as non-Muslims.[38]

An imposing amount of Jain literature was also produced ; and Jain books came to be written on paper, instead on palm leaves.[39] Merutungacaryam,[40] a Jain chronicler, completed in V.S. 1361 (A.D.

[37] Among the Muslim courtiers, according to the Jain account, there was a learned *qalandar* who had come from Khaurasan and offered to show some miracles He threw up a cap (*Kulah*) which remained hanging in the air without any support Then he said addressing the emperor ,

'Your Majesty ! Is there anyone in your court who can bring down this cap?'

The emperor looked towards his courtiers, expecting that at least one from among them might respond Seeing this Jinaprabha Suri said

'Your Majesty ! Just see what I will do.'

Saying this, he brought it down with his *rajohara*. Then the *qalandar* played another trick. He removed skilfully the earthen water pots which a woman was carrying on her head and kept them hanging in the air Jinaprabha Suri challenged him to keep the water in the said earthen pots hanging without the support of the pots The *qalandar* was unable to do so Seeing this, Jinaprabha Suri stepped forward He broke the earthen pots which were still hanging in the air and suspended the water in the cavities of the sky Thereupon the emperor asked him to split up the water into drops which should remain suspended in the sky. Jinaprabha Suri did so , and the *qalandar* was ashamed (*JPSB* pp, 145-146)

[38] Among the non-Muslim courtiers was one Raghavacaitanya. He was proficient in *mantras*. He resolved to drive away Jinaprabha Suri from the royal court. But he was worsted in a contest with Jinaprabha Suri and had to leave the court, crest-fallen

(i) *JPSB*, pp 18, 141, (ii) Jhavery, M. B., *CCSM*, pp. 229 ff.

[39-40] Sheth, C B., *Jainism in Gujarat*, pp. 182 ff.

1304-05) the *Prabandha-cintāmani*—a Sanskrit work dealing with the history of Gujarat. Feru,[41] son of Candra Thakura, composed the *Vastusāra*[42] in V.S. 1372 (A.D. 1315-16). Jinaprabha Suri completed the *Vividha-tirtha-kalpa*[43] in V. S. 1389 (A.D. 1333). Then Somatilaka wrote three philosophical books—*Navyakṣetra-samāsa*, *Vicāra-sūtra* and *Saptatisatasthānaka* and *Sudhākalasa*, a master-musician, brought out two volumes on music entitled *Sangitopaniṣad*.

Even after the death of Sultan Muhammad the Jains enjoyed royal favours. In spite of his narrow religious outlook and reactionary government, Sultan Firoz Shah honoured, at least, three eminent Jains, i.e., Gunabhadra Suri, Munibhadra Suri, and Mahendra Suri, the last named being an astronomer and mathematician of repute.[44]

[41-44] *Op. Cit.*

Mrigavati

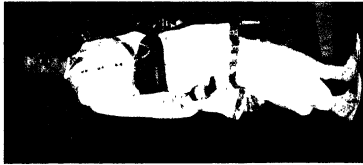
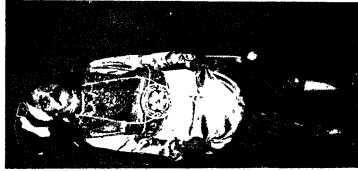
—a drama on a Queen's emancipation—

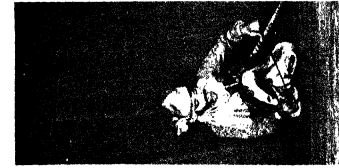
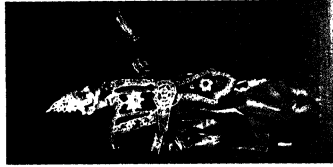
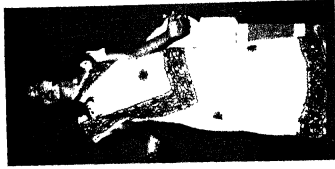
P. C. DASGUPTA

Perhaps, a drama glows with the light of the unseen world when it combines a delicate style with feelings of the inherent grace of mankind in its expression of love and longing for emancipation. The harmony of values is as symbolic as the exposition of Pythagoras. Thoughts and appreciation have their own value in respective perspectives. As the 17th century French philosopher Rene Descartes put it, "I think, therefore I exist." (*Cogito ergo sum*).

In its own canvass the theme of *Mrigavati* conveys a truth which may be searched for in the world of nature and consciousness for discovering the identity of the self in the light of realisation and surrender. The purity and devotion of Mrigavati, the widow queen of king Satanika of Kausambi were finally offered to the feet of Mahavira, the Jina of eternal light by the composer of the drama Sri Ganesh Lalwani. The entire drama sometimes scintillating with the absorbing grace of an operette

echoes the voice of freedom, an assurance symbolically offered to a captive of worldly attachments and conflicts by the ultimate appearance of the Nirgrantha. Actually, the virtuosity of the drama staged in the Mahajati Sadan, Calcutta, on 23rd April, 1978 has epitomised a theme which belongs to all time. *Mrigavati* was entirely played by the young girl students of Jain Sikshalaya, Calcutta.

Adopted from Jaina traditions the drama is set forth in a political perspective of about sixth century B.C. when the state of Vatsa with its capital at Kausambi (present Kosam near Allahabad) and Avanti with its capital at Ujjayini made a bid for political supremacy though, as we know, Magadha carved out the desired empire in the long run. At this time king Pradyota of Ujjayini, known as *Canda* for his violent temper, was younger than king Satanika of Kausambi and was a stronger aggressor in the field. It is supposed that, Satanika belonged to the line of Arjuna of the Great Epic. The sotry of *Mrigavati* as told in the drama belongs to this ancient epoch of struggle, heroism and idyllic beauty of urban and rural life and environments. The age is well-remembered for a culture of high order as also the standard of diplomacy and morality understood by the court and the nation. These glowed in the perspective of the remote murals of the epics that ended with war and peace. Jayanta, the talented painter of Kausambi incurred the displeasure of Satanika by painting a woman replete with all her feminine grace on the wall of the royal theatre of the palace which, though he did not know revealed the hidden charms of Mrigavati, the chief queen of Satanika. Jayanta created his masterpiece by only espying three fingers of a lady from a door-hole. With his inexplicable genius and ability the artist could recreate the entire portrait of the lady—drawing inspiration and evidence from the delicate limbs only. Being indignant at this Satanika asked him for an explanation. Though Jayanta could convincingly prove his innocence the king could not forgive him and by his command the artist was punished, the thumb of his right hand was cut off and he was exiled from the country. With the flame of revenge in his heart poor Jayanta made an error for which he was later on greatly repentent, he instigated the sensuous and warrior lord of Ujjayini Canda Pradyota to claim Mrigavati for his pleasure. Before reaching the court of Pradyota the artist acquired the same proficiency in his brush work by left hand as he had before his mutilation of the right thumb by worshipping a Yaksa i.e. a divinity. He gained access to the presence of Pradyota with the help of Malati, a *prima ballerina* who was giving performance with her troupe on the occasion of the birth-day of the king. Being his acquintance and further being grateful for his once saving her honour from the bondage of women leading a life of easy virtue Malati

Seeking his personal revenge. Jayanta, the painter in Mrigavatı.

At last he failed to make the king laugh The Vıdusaka of Pradyota.

Bhagavatı Kausikı. Mrigavatı's friend in need.

Sullenly waiting for action A veteran of Pradyota honing his sword beyond the walls of Kausambi

His passion is replaced by adoration Pradyota honours the ethereal beauty and greatness of Mrigavati.

Purity glows in the moment of ordeal. Queen Mrigavati in the drama.

assisted Jayanta for the interview though she was innocent of the motive of unfair revenge cherished by the injured artist. When she learnt this she reprimanded Jayanta from the core of her heart. As a sequence of the drama Pradyota sent an envoy to the court of Satanika asking for Mrigavati which was obviously refused and consequently Kausambi was invaded by a large army from Ujjayini. The invaders, the veterans of Pradyota camped before the walls of Kausambi. The comparatively small force of Kausambi found a brave general in Rumanvan but the situation turned dismal in view of the sudden illness of Satanika who was now on his death bed. When the actual battle was still to begin Satanika breathed his last getting promise from his wife, generals and courtiers that, Udayana, the child prince would be enthroned as his successor. The moment was utterly discouraging to the citizens of Kausambi. The small army was losing morale in view of the king's death, the problem of a child successor and an overwhelming army beyond the walls to gratify their desire of all kinds. But Mrigavati took a heroic stand by her personal sacrifice. After disclosing her heart to Bhagavati Kausiki (a wandering nun) she made her own resolution to protect her country, subjects and faithful warriors by sending a message to Pradyota that, she would surrender herself to him if he repaired the battlements of the city, send food for the citizens and assist in the crowning of Udayana. The invader from Avanti had least doubt that a promise from the ksatriya queen could never be shaken. He was ready in his game of love. Time passed in this way and when the further fortification of Kausambi was complete with the help of the army of Pradyota who were as surprised to work as allies as the citizens of the beleaguered city Mrigavati told the entire plan to her court and requested the persons at helm to annoint Udayana as the king without fear now that she was leaving for Pradyota and Kausambi was adequately defended against any further peril of siege. But she assured her officers and feudatories that, the invader from Ujjayini would receive her not as alive but dead. The assembly was perplexed and moved by what she did to stop bloodshed. One of them suggested that instead of destroying herself she might surrender at the feet of Mahavira. This gave a new vision of light to the queen who would do this for emancipation from the bondage of transient life only after begging permission from Pradyota. When the Tirthankara was delivering sermon in Candravatarana Caitya Mrigavati expressed her wish to enter into the order of nuns. When she approached Pradyota for permission he was a changed man. Struck by her purity and ethereal grace the predator succumbed in a reverential love and admiration which he never experienced before. He not only gave her the permission, but also took the warrior's oath to protect the boy prince.

The above story of *Mrigavati* composed by Sri Lalwani will touch the cord of every soul to whom the purity of intention and chastity are alike and nearest to our concept of beauty beyond boundaries. Mrigavati was neither a Delilah who beguiled Samson nor a Judith who cut off the head of Holofernes, the general of an Assyrian army who invaded Bethulia, she fought against destiny and violence from her unbruised rampart of chastity and moral values. She deserved the blessing of the Jina who gave her emancipation from earthly bondage.

The most sublime and beauteous moment of the stage version of the drama was the surrender of Mrigavati to the light symbolising the Jina, the conqueror of the self and the friend of the universe. The hymn chanted on the occasion hearlding, as it were, the approach of the Lord and the way Sm. Rajkumari Sethia depicted the ultimate freedom of the fair widow queen will steal the heart of the audience. In its own scope and purport the stage version will be remembered as an acme of performance. The acting of Sm. Renu Begani as Satanika and of Sm. Manju Bachhawat as Canda Pradyota deserve praise in this connection especially considering their very young age. What further impressed the audience was the part of *Vidūṣaka* or court-jester played by equally a young student Sm. Sashi Mehra. The performance of Sm. Rajani Choraria as *Citrakāra* Jayanta and of Sm. Sandhya Lunia as Malati and Bhagavati Kausiki will live in memory. The role of the envoy of Pradyota was true to the character as demanded by the drama. The lyrical charm of Sm. Rajkumari Sethia with her elegant beauty and graceful movement will recall some of the passion and sublimity of the ancient marbles of Dilwara.

The play will justly compliment the Hindi translation of *Mrigavati* by Sm. Rajkumari Begani *Mrigavati* was originally written in Bengali by Sri Ganesh Lalwani, the well-known poet and artist The dances beautifully performed on the stage had been choreographed by Sri Yogendra Narayan. The credit of direction of the play mainly rests with Sri Rajendra Sharma. Sm. Rajkumari Begani had also an important contribution in this aspect. The music which was absorbing all along was performed by Sri Rabi Biswas and his party. The lighting arrangement which embellished the theme of the drama was arranged by Sri Anil Saha. The costume was supplied by Rapayana, Calcutta.

Thematically *Mrigavati* appears as a new flower blossomming in the garden of our memory and imagination while its artistry on the stage of Mahajati Sadan, Calcutta will be recollected as an example of grace and virtuosity in its scope involved.

BOOK REVIEW

A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF JAINISM (up to 1000 A.D.)—
by DR. ASIM KUMAR CHATTERJEE, pub. by Firma KLM Pvt. Ltd.
Calcutta, 1978. Pages 400. Price Rs. 75/-

The author is a comparatively young but promising scholar of ancient Indian history and culture, who has to his credit works like *The Cult of Skanda-Karttikeya in Ancient India* (1970) and *Ancient Indian Literary and Cultural Tradition* (1974). The present work appears to be his first, albeit a praiseworthy, attempt in the field of Jaina history. He has taken pains in gleaning his material from a good number of primary and secondary sources and in presenting it in a handy readable form, substantiating his account with relevant references. His approach is justifiably critical, but at times it appears to become too critical, even verging on the dogmatic. This has led to quite a number of unwarranted inferences, surmises and conjectures. Some of the author's preconceived notions and deeprooted biases, if not prejudices, have coloured his theories which he does not tire in hammering down the throat of the reader time and again. Cases of misinterpretation, distortion or twisting of facts are not rare. To give a few examples, Dr. Chatterjee seems to have started with the presumptions —(i) that in ancient times, prior to the alleged rise of Jainism and Buddhism, the entire population of the country was Brahmanical and no other religious system, cultural current, way of life and thinking except the Vedic which did include the Bhagavata, Saiva and Vaisnava forms, was prevalent in India ; (ii) that Jainism like Buddhism is a heretical sect which 'Originated some 800 years before the birth of Christ, as the first genuine protest against the Brahmanical religion ; (iii) that 'the penultimate Tirthankara Parsva was the real founder of Jainism, who preached his new religion around 800 B.C. ; (iv) that the conception of the earlier 22 Tirthankaras, including Rsabha and Aristanemi, dates since the post-Mauryan times (3rd-2nd century B.C.) ; (v) that Mahavira was a junior contemporary of the Buddha, although he died a few years before the latter ; (vi) that 'Lord Mahavira died only in the 2nd quarter of the 5th century B.C., and not earlier, as supposed by many Jaina writers, but this we would like to discuss in a separate Appendix'. (p. 108). The promised discussion is nowhere to be found in the present volume. Dr. Chatterjee does not specifically mention the date anywhere, but indirectly hints that it must

be 455 B.C. or at the most 468 B.C. He seems to forget that his surmise is quite at variance with the traditionally and unanimously believed, well-established, thoroughly examined and carefully arrived at date, namely 527 B.C., moreover that his opinion disrupts the entire Jaina chronology pushing forward many dates by some 70 years. This has naturally affected adversely : the fixation by the author of many a date of early Jaina history. Does he also believe that the Buddha died about 450 B.C.? (vii) The author is of the opinion that the Jainas under Bhadrabahu did not migrate to the south (Karnataka), nor did Candragupta Maurya ever became a Jaina (pp. 40-41, 133). In this respect, he disregards the Jaina tradition, literary and epigraphical evidence and the opinion of a host of eminent scholars, Indian and foreign. It is strange that in the face of all this evidence he puts his reliance on a work of fiction, the play *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* of Visakhadatta, a Brahmanical writer of the post-Gupta period. (viii) The statement that the Jainas from the very early times, indulged freely in blind anti-Brahmanism", (p. 3) is preposterous. He harps again and again on the Jainas' antagonism towards the Brahmanas and their religion, and even goes to say that 'the present author strongly believes that it was the business community who started partonising this religion (Jainism) from the 1st. Century B.C., who were responsible for mouldingit as an anti-Brahmanical religious system' (Preface P. VI). He forgets that the few Jaina writers who tried to ridicule certain fantastic Puranic myths or blind superstitions of the common followers of Brahmanism, were not the members of the Jaina business community, but were mostly Brahmanas like Haribhadra whom Dr. Chatterjee calls a 'renegade' (p. 282). The Brahmana-Sramana or Brahmana-Kstriya rivalry was not unknown even in the Vedic and later Vedic ages. The Vaisya has always been a tolerant and peace-loving person. Morever, although the Jainas are known to have suffered severe persecutions at the hands of the Brahmanical Sungas, the Saivas, Vaisnavas, Lingayatas, etc., there is hardly any instance in history when the Jainas persecuted non-Jainas. And, if the Jaina writers are charged with taking little notice of non-Jaina systems, what about the entire range of Brahmanical literature including the Vedic, later Vedic, the two epics, the *Purāṇas* and the classical works, even the Buddhist books, which were all written when Jainism was in existence and often flourishing, yet allusions to it were scrupulously avoided, or made in a derogatory manner. Anyway, such insinuations are not happy in a sober work on history. (ix) The same remark applies to the attempts of Dr. Chatterjee where he tries, may be inadvertently, to sow seeds of dissension between the Digambaras and the Svetambaras in different ways. (x) He takes for granted that the Jaina literature, whether of the Digambaras or of the Svetambaras, is inferior to, much less reliable and later in date than the Brahmanical books including the

Rāmāyana, the *Mahābhārata* and even the *Purāṇas*. (xi) Similarly, the author starts with the presumption that every historical person was naturally a follower of Brahmanism unless and until he or she is definitely and squarely proved to have been an adherent of Jainism. Even then the learned author, in most cases, would grudgingly admit 'It seems, this king or ruler was not against Jainism.' In the same vein, he generally presumes that Jainism reached or was introudced in a particular locality or region on a particular date, simply because the earliest definitely known Jaina inscription from that place or region is assigned to that date or period. Would the learned author be prepared to apply the same reasoning with regard to the rise or spread of Brahmanism, Saivism or Vaisnavism in different regions? (xii) In ch. XI of the book, the author gives a brief account of the nature and contents of the different canonical texts of the Svetambara tradition. Two things are curious in this account. Firstly, he completely avoids any mention of the celebrated saint Devarddhigani Ksamasramana principally to whom that canonical literature owes its redaction and existence. Secondly, in his description of the 5th Anga text, the *Bhagavatīsūtra*, Dr. Chatterjee seems to be overjoyed in making a new discovery. He writes (p. 240), 'This *śataka* (the 15th *śataka* of the *Bhagvatī*) further gives the very revealing information that Lord Mahavira ate the flesh of cat (*majjārakaḍa*) and wild cock (*kukkudamansa*) when he was down with fever after a debate with Gosala. The Jainas of modern times find this account quite shocking and hasten to offer various explanations for these terms. Such attempts can be compared with those offered by the devout Buddhists for the term *sukaramāddava* which Buddha ate in Cunda's mango-grove at Pava. Needless to say, the prophets of the 6th century B.C., like other people of that time, were addicted to both vegetarian and non-vegetarian food. Eating of fish and flesh did not clash with their ideas of non-violence. There are other evidences to show that the Jainas of earlier times were non-vegetarians like others, allthough by the Gupta period they became strictly vegetarians.' The statement and the manner in which it has been made reflect the mentality of the author and smack of propaganda. Based as it is on a solitary, doubtful and highly controversial allusion found only in one text which even according to the present author, had undergone several recensions and belongs to only one section of the Jaina community, this opinion has no relevancy in such a book on history and should better have been avoided. A seasoned and mature historian is generally dispassionate, unbiased and objective in dealing with a religious and cultural system and its adherants, especially when he himself is not one of them. Unfortunately, this delicacy, understanding and a sympathetic attitude seem to be wanting in this work. Much work has already been done on different aspects of Jaina history. Had the author

carefully examined all the original sources and gone through the many books on the subject, published in Hindi, English, Gujarati, Kannada, etc., and seen the material scattered in the files of the Jaina and general research Journals, he would not, perhaps, have burdened his account with his own theories and opinions which are often mistaken and misleading. He seems to have been choosy in his sources as also in making the use thereof. It would, however, take long to comment on every criticisable point in this volume.

The book is divided into 14 chapters, 2 appendices, a select bibliography, index and a correction list. Chapterwise headings are: I Rsabha to Aristanemi (pages 8) ; II Parsvanatha (pp. 5) ; III life of Mahavira (pp. 14); IV spread of Jainism—Early phase (pp. 7); V Jainism in Mathura (pp. 29); VI—Jainism in Orissa (pp. 10); VII Jainism in North India—200 B.C. to 600 A.D. (pp. 23); VIII Jainism in South India—Early Phase (pp. 29); IX Jainism in North India—600 A.D. to 1000A.D (pp.22); X Jainism in South India—600 A.D. to 1000 A.D. (pp. 43) ; XI The Svetambara Canonical Literature (pp. 36) ; XII The Non-canonical Svetambara literature (pp. 81) ; XIII The literature of the Digambaras (pp. 22) , IV Jain Thinkers (pp. 12) ; App.A.—Ajivikism and Gosala (pp. 9) ; and App. B Early Jainism and Yaksa Worship (pp. 8)

Apart from other things, it would be obvious from the scheme of contents and the space devoted to different topics, that the name 'A Comprehensive History of Jainism' is hardly justified. It is at best, in the main, a brief histoical account of the existence and influence of Jainism in different parts of India from *circa* 200 B C. to 1000 A.D., which, too, needs be taken with a grain of salt, and not accepted as the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. 'A comprehensive history of Jainism' is yet a desideratum. Nevertheless, we heartily congratulate Dr. Chatterjee for his interest in and contribution to the historical literature relating to Jainism and the Jainas. Hope, he would kindly excuse us for the candid evaluation of his work ; we look forward to its second volume in which he proposes to cover the period 1000 A.D. to 1500 A.D. and also include chapters on Jaina iconography and philosophy.

—Jyoti Prasad Jain

UTTARADHYAYANA SUTRA [The Last Testament of Sramana Bhagavan Mahavira]—With text, translation rendered into verse from the original Prakrit and notes by Professor K. C Lalwani. Pages 488 Demy. Published in 1977 by Prajnanam. Calcutta-6. Price Rs. 70/-

Prof. K. C. Lalwani, author of several valuable publications on Jainology and Histriography has rendered meritorious service to the advancement of Jainological learning by translating into idiomatic, chaste and lucid verse the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* containing the golden sayings of Mahavira, on ethics, religion and philosophy for the instruction and guidance of monks and house-holders.

The *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* is as sacred to the Jainas as the *Visudhimārga* of the Buddhists for self-purification and the attainment of freedom from mundane sufferings,—the ultimate goal of life, *Nirvāna*, incomprehensible to the human intellect

Bhagavan Mahavira, at the age of seventytwo, in the course of a long sermon on the law of *Karma* continuously delivered for two days agumented by the text of the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* passed away into *Nirvāṇa*, the supreme state of emancipation The text of the *Sūtra* is original, attributed to Mahavira according to authoritative Jaina scriptures. This makes the *Sūtra* the last testament of Mahavira

I compared the prose version rendered by the late Dr. Herman Jacobi published about eighty-five years ago with the verses of Prof. Lalwani and found both of them in full agreement in their literal translations of the original text. There may be a few flaws, but they are not so serious as to invite criticisms and comments by scholars. For each chapter, Prof. Lalwani has added exhaustive notes in which he has also indicated slight differences he has with Jacobi.

Our grateful thanks are due to Prof. Lalwani for producing this monumental work on Jainology which will prove indispensable to students pursuing studies on the Jaina sacred literature.

—V. G. Nair

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